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ABSTRACT

Throughout the 1968-1969 hearings of the National Council on Indian Opportunity (NCIO), interest was shown repeatedly in the development of Indian centers within urban areas. Existing Indian centers in the cities visited by the NCIO were marginally funded operations which nevertheless fulfilled important functions such as intake and referral; housing assistance; recreation and sports for children and youth; legal aid; employment assistance; and provision of a social gathering place, a mailing address for those without a permanent residence, and a site for the preservation of Indian culture. Quite positive feelings and aspirations about the functions of an urban Indian center were common among the Indian witnesses. Statements of plans and hopes for Indian centers sometimes contained references to hoped-for funding sources. Most often, it was expected that Government funds would have to be provided, and there were indications that the funding of urban Indian centers should be regarded as a responsibility of established Government agencies such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This report organizes the concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with the Indian center. Much is included in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. (JH)

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS HELD BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY

PART IV: THE INDIAN CENTER

by

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Introduction

This report deals with the public testimony delivered before the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968-1969 visits to five major cities -- Los Angeles, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco, and Phoenix. These visits were for the purpose of holding hearings about the problems of urban Indians with a view toward stimulating remedial Federal government and local community action.

The NCIO came into being in March, 1968 by Presidential Executive Order Number 11399. Chaired by the Vice-President of the United States, its cabinet members were designated as the Secretaries of Interior; Agriculture; Commerce; Labor; Health, Education and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The six appointed Indian members of the Council were

Wendell Chino, Mescalero Apache, President of the National Congress of American Indians

La Donna Harris, Comanche, Organization Official, Housewife, Chairman Urban (Off-Reservation) Indians

William Hensley, Alaska Native, Representative of Alaska State Legislature

Roger Jourdain, Chippewa, Chairman of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians

Raymond Nakai, Navajo, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council

Cato Valandra, Sioux, Chairman of the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council

The NCIO appointed Mrs. La Donna Harris to chair an inquiry into the conditions of life for urban Indians. In each metropolitan area selected, resident Indians and representatives of government or social agencies that deal with Indians were invited to attend and discuss problems in the areas of education, housing, employment, recreation, social services and justice.

The sequence of the hearings was as follows:

Los Angeles, California	December 16-17, 1968
Dallas, Texas	February 13-14, 1969
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota	March 18-19, 1969
San Francisco, California	April 11-12, 1969
Phoenix, Arizona	April 17-18, 1969

The five volumes which contain the testimony presented in the hearings provided no indication of the rationale for selecting these particular cities. Los Angeles, of course, contains the largest urban Indian concentration in the United States, and may have been selected for that reason. The smaller (and apparently more widely dispersed) Indian population of San Francisco provides some contrast, but it seems curious that other cities, such as Chicago (with its variety of woodlands Indians), Baltimore (with its Lumbees) or New York City (with its Mohawks) were ignored in favor of another California city and in favor of two southwestern choices -- Dallas and Phoenix. Of course, the heavy concentration of <u>total</u> (rural and urban) Indian population in the Southwestern and Western states may have occasioned pressures to make the selections which occurred. The volumes also do not make clear the rationale for selecting the Indian and non-Indian representatives of the five cities to appear before the Committee. There is some indication from the testimony that, as one might expect, the more prominent and articulate Indian people tended to be represented rather than those who may have been more typical of urban Indians as a whole. Also, the attendance at the hearings of social service agency and city government representatives, in general, was poor.

This report will organize the urban Indian concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with the Indian center. The attempt has been to deliberately include much in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. This meant that inevitable decisions had to be made about the selection of materials which resulted in the omission of much of the direct testimony in the five large volumes of the hearings. Of course, transcripts of hearings can be faulted because they lack such

subtleties as voice inflection, audience-witness interaction, and points of verbal emphasis during prolonged testimony. In addition, there were off-the-record discussions in Phoenix which conceivably could have contained more important material than that which was recorded.

It should be noted (as a matter of fact and not apology) that the two authors of this report are non-Indian.

Throughout the hearings interest was shown repeatedly in the development of Indian centers within urban areas. While there was variation in the expressed conceptualizations of the Indian center, there was almost a unanimous conviction that its proposed functions are vital for urban Indians and that it was quite necessary for the development and maintenance of an urban Indian community. The only serious objection to the notion of a center arose in Dallas, and it was obvious that the problem was not with the center but with transportation:

> The community center or recreation center, is a good idea, except that for a problem we have in Fort Worth. I understand it's the same in Dallas. Our Indians don't live in one area. A man mentioned a while ago, you may have to drive ten to fifteen miles one week, and maybe ten or fifteen the other way. Some of our Indians in Fort Worth, no matter where it was located, would drive ten to fifteen miles every day if they wanted to go there. We have a problem of transportation, and, of course, again, communication break-down, over the great distance where people live apart.[1]

Existing Centers

Most of the cities had Indian centers, but it was obvious that they were marginally funded and often poorly equipped facilities. Nevertheless, they were described as fulfilling important functions, as in San Francisco:

> ...This is pertaining to the American Indian Center here in San Francisco. I am a member of the staff under the EOC program, and we deal largely with people that are relocated in this area. Our services are primarily for intake and referral....
> One of our most pressing problems at the present time is the need for adequate housing. Many times we have people come to our center who need a place to stay. These people usually have arrived in town, and are looking for work.[2]

Funding of the San Francisco Center was identified as a principal problem which had resulted in retaining an unfavorable location:

> I'd say the American Indian Center, itself, is self-supporting. We don't have anyone supporting our organization. Primarily, our funds come from the students themselves, through our fund-raising process of recreation. The Saturday night dance brings in enough funds to keep our center going. Our rent is $575 a month, plus our utilities, and this is our primary source of income. Consequently, with the youth, we have a lot of programs trying to give them recreation. Our center is situated in such an area, we are really not satisfied being in that area. We tried before our lease expired to find another area, and many people who live in the city know around 16th and Mission the various bars that are located there, are just not the place to have our youth. So, we have our problems there again with alcoholism and juvenile problems, and they are subject to various vices. When students are relocated in the area, many times they are not properly orientated to the urban living. Consequently, they are subject to various vices, and I know if their parents back home knew of the various things they do, they certainly would think twice before sending their children.[3]

Besides trying to help with referrals, housing, alcoholism, and juvenile problems, the San Francisco Center was faced with needs for legal aid and employment assistance:

> There is a program down the local city county jail. I think it's under the local poverty program for people who cannot pay their bail. We get calls every once in a while about Indian people down there, and there again, we're short of staff and it is difficult to get there. Whenever we need a legal adviser, Mr. Evander Smith, who is also Indian, has been able to assist us, I hate to ask all the time because we don't have the funds for consultants, which would be of great help. There is, of course, the local Legal Assistance which has quite a case-load, I understand themselves...I try as much as possible to make note of what type of referral, whenever possible, to do follow-up. This is one of our problems. We dont' have the personnel to do follow-ups such as job employment. We never find out what has happened to these people, if they've got a job, or if they left their job, and what was the problem for them leaving their job, and this type of thing. As I say, we are short of staff, and follow-up is a problem. I do have some information on this in which, there again, it is up to the individual whether they want to testify on this or not.[4]

An Indian center in Phoenix was barely surviving because of economic distress. It was unable to provide much in the way of services to Indians and the Committee was urged to help improve the situation by an Indian man:

> I might surprise all of you people, or the majority of you, and tell you that we do have an Indian center in Phoenix. I wouldn't be surprised to hear that you didn't know about it. We are in a building right over here at 376 North First Avenue. The building is probably 30 feet wide and 50 feet long. We operate on a budget from the United Fund Committee of 6,000 dollars per year. Out of the $6000 we pay our rent. Incidentally, we are on a month-to-month basis in this facility. We pay a director $125 a month. The only reason we can get him is because he's retired from another group. He is seventy-some odd years old. He does a tremendous job for what he has to do with over there.
>
> Now the facility is used for people to come in and watch television. And they use it to have mail forwarded to. This is an address for people that do not have a permanent address in Phoenix.
>
> They can leave their packages there. I guess that is about all the services that are presently offered in the center.
>
> We are embarking on a small pilot program that was funded through our LEAP commission, through OEO. It is a 28,000 dollar program. It is going to be informational and referral service, counseling. That is about the size of that program.
>
> However, from what I've heard in the past two days here, and I think we have all known it for some time, we need a multi-purpose center, one that can provide services for social activities, educational programs such as I have heard discussed here that are not available to our Indians in Phoenix.
>
> It is my understanding, well, I know this for a fact, that public health will be moving into a new facility in 1970 in the first quarter. They are vacating some property at 16th street and Indian School Road, which I feel could be utilized very well by our urban Indians here in Phoenix, and also from surrounding reservations.
>
> I think that this Commission, which you represent, could possibly be forceful, in helping us to obtain this property up there, these buildings. One could be used for a service center. The other can be used for a, say, halfway house for an alcoholism program.[5]

During the Minneapolis hearings a rather lengthy account of the rationale, need and beginning struggles of an Indian center in St. Paul was offered:

> I have included the by-laws of the American Indian Center that the Indians themselves developed. The main proposal submitted to the Hill Foundation which is our main source of funding for the center for two years...We have been looking to an Indian center, as it were, and some people misunderstand this. Some people simply call it a socialization center. Some people call it a service center where all you need to do is develop an employment service, an educational service, a welfare service, or a recreational service.
>
> It is that, perhaps, but much more. Some say we need a cultural center and, of course, there are many ways to describe what we mean by culture. We might say that culture is the way to dress, to eat, to behave, or something like that. I think the center includes all of these things as well. Some say it's a building, and some of us have not thought very much about it, or think that's really all it is. As a matter of fact, we didn't include all of these other things that really are very important to our lives.
>
> Some say it's a geographical place, it's an information and referral place, or something to that effect. I think, and it's my personal opinion, an Indian center in an urban setting is probably the most important thing that can happen because a third of the entire Indian population is found in the cities... We have a growing feeling among our Indian people that we should have an Indian center. We have a growing dissatisfaction with some of the present institutions and a growing awareness of the Indians' position in the urban community...We have been doing a number of things with our center. It has not been without a struggle that we have come to the point we are. On the one hand, a huge mass of problems are facing us; non-recognition of the Indian. We find the health, welfare and educational agencies that serve the community and open up opportunities for the community, are not geared to the needs of the Indian people. On the other hand, we find a large number of Indian people quite unconcerned about how they are going to live in this community, and yet they have to compete...As a matter of fact maybe they have a number of alternatives.
>
> One alternative forced upon them is that they have to play their game, and not express themselves as Indians. The Indian center ends up perhaps as the best way that Indians can stand on their own feet and say, "This is what we want to do. We don't want to do this as something isolated. We don't

want to do something as though to say we are not any different or more special than anyone else. We want to do it because we are part of the general community. We want to become a part of the social fabric of the community. We want to be an integral part of community life."

We can do this by having our own Indian center. We do not want to be blamed for trying to isolate ourselves because all these years we feel that individuals have already been isolated. All we need to do is to regroup our Indian people so that we can preserve and cling to these values, to some of the things that are important...When we presented our proposal the first time for funding, we were turned down. At that time over half the group got discouraged and quit. Then we found we were supposed to have more money. I guess the reason they turned us down is because we were too weak with ourselves. We submitted only a certain proposal and they said, "It's not good enough. You have got to fatten it up." So we took it back and fattened it up. Then we brought it back again and it was again turned down simply because we were an isolated agency with no backing.

What they wanted us to do was to get the United Fund to back us on this. We had to take it back to the United Fund people and get them to sign their names to it. Then we turned it in and it was turned down again. About that time all the Indians were quitting, "This is for the birds," you know, "because it's all red tape."

We went over it again and we found we had to attach ourselves to an existing agency. So, we attached ourselves to the YMCA, after a lot of quarrels. The YMCA thought it was a good idea to fatten up their own program. As a matter of fact, what happened was that we developed a cooperative relationship with the YMCA, whereby they are handling the fiscal policies, but we make the decisions on programs.[6]

The history of a similar undertaking in Minneapolis was described by an Indian woman who noted difficulty in operating through the Federal anti-poverty structure:

...the Upper Midwest Indian Center...is perhaps the oldest Indian center in the city. We began in 1961. Approximately twelve individuals felt the time had come when we should get ourselves together -- first to preserve our culture which we feel is sadly misunderstood and shuffled aside and, secondly, to form ourselves as a bridge for people who are

coming from the reservations or from other places who do not know the agencies and opportunities available to them.

We began as I say, on a volunteer basis and were that way until 1966. We lived in several places. The first place was a large place over a warehouse which cost us $125 a month. Believe it or not, we paid this and kept it to ourselves by powwows. We weren't able to do much in the line of social services, but we did this advising and referring.

The next office of the Upper Midwest was a small office on Hennepin Avenue in downtown Minneapolis. This continued along the same line as the other. At this point we began to branch out into sports programs for the children. We began our Little Leagues along with other things...

In 1966 a proposal was made to the Office of Economic Opportunity by a group of people in the Twin Cities to get some OEO money for Indians. This proposal was accepted. However, at that time there was no money available for this item, so the money used was a versatile fund from the Citizen's Community Center. This was granted to the Upper Midwest Indian Center as a contracting agency. We worked with that group until 1967.

The way the Citizen's Community Center functioned was not compatible with the way Upper Midwest functioned. The board of Upper Midwest is drawn from people of different tribal groups, not necessarily poverty residents, and some of the other practices are quite different. In 1967 -- in April -- the Upper Midwest withdrew from the Citizen's Community Center leaving staff people who were working with it. We have continued to work with it until this date, with a new board and new people, as the advisory council.[7]

However, some Minneapolis Indians did not consider present arrangements to constitute the Indian center that was needed, as the comment of one militant man suggests:

> We are the only city in the United States with such a large Indian population who don't have an Indian center.[8]

There were comments about the Los Angeles Center which suggested its educational role:

> This center [Los Angeles Indian Center] will be negotiating with UCLA students very soon for classes to upgrade the adult Indian person interested in classes with full college credit. This is needed because of the lack of administrative knowledge. This came up just a day or two ago. It is something we are going to look into, to explore, and I think we are going to set up classes where all Indians can come if they want to. This is a voluntary thing. They will be given full credit on the administrative side, because Indian people lack administrative knowledge. I think this is one of our biggest hang-ups, we don't have administrative knowledge to conduct our own business. Things are available, so we can go out and get them, and this could be funded through the OEO or the EDA.[9]

Dallas Indians who appeared at the hearings did not report an existing center, although it was apparent that they perceived the need for one.

The Plea for Exclusive Facilities

Dallas Indians had attempted to undertake some Indian center functions by renting facilities for special occasions. There was distinct lack of satisfaction with these arrangements, as the following excerpts indicate:

> MR. NAHWOOKSY: ...Could you elaborate a little bit on what is now available in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, what facilities are available?
>
> MR. LESTER: Of course, they have their recreational centers here in Dallas and they will tell you, "Well, now, we have -- whenever you want to use it, it's available," but that isn't it. I mean, the Indians need their own recreational center. Here's a problem. May I ask you all? How does the Los Angeles are, the Denver area, and those various areas, how do they finance their Indian centers, how do they do it? They all have Indian centers.
>
> CHAIR: They do by private means. The Indians organize themselves and I think some are on -- like the Red Feather community board, some community chest type thing, but they're all privately owned -- or privately operated. The Indian center concept, just to be truthful with you, is one that I rejected at one time and I've made a complete turn-around and come to the very important role the center plays. I think we're having, the importance of the Indian center. If not for any other reason, it's a social outlet besides an information gathering unit, and I feel that we'll have to respond in some way because this is the cry we're hearing from practically every area, the urban centers.[10]

* * *

Well, like many fellow Indians, this recreation center is a vision we've had for some time. I am sure the majority of the group here would go along with me on that, because we have discussed it for the past five or six years. We realize we cannot -- you want to buy us one and put it up for us either in the Dallas or the Fort Worth area. I do know when we have a powwow or some kind of social gathering, we try to place it where most of the Indians are located. In past cases, we have had them at the Elmer Scott recreation center due to the fact, the Indians were in that area, but it so happened that some party had rented that hall the day before we were going to use it and had broken a chair. We were going to have a fellowship dinner and during that fellowship dinner one of the fellows happened to sit on that broken chair. Of course, we got the blame, and we can't get that building no more. So now we are just going to where we can find a place. It might be in Oak Cliff, Arlington...Now, we have to jump from here over there. And the next month we're going to go to Garland That's how we have to move around. Like somebody said a lot of people can't get there, due to transportation, and I would like to see recreation centers put up, either in Dallas or Fort Worth for the simple reason these powwows we go to, somebody is going to get hurt some way and with a permanent building we can get insurance. We're protected and they're protected.[11]

* * *

MR. NAHWOOKSY: Would you elaborate a little bit, Frank, on the recreation facilities available?

MR. WATSON: Well, I haven't really checked into the recreation facilities available. I understand they are available, provided you have the funds to rent them. These things you have to reserve far enough in advance to have your powwow, or whatever it is. You may have to call it off and a lot of places, when we do reserve them, want the money in advance...I was president of the club for a while, and there were a lot of places I could have gotten, but we didn't have the money to get them. One or two places I have gotten and, like I say, we had to cancel it, and lost the money. As far as the recreation, I just don't think it's too good. Now I haven't investigated, it's just my going around and seeing these things.[12]

* * *

MR. NAHWOOKSY: Are you familiar with the centers? I'm particularly interested in the value of these. Has there been any approach to the city to establish something like this?

MRS. HAIL: I don't know about that. I do know, for a long time, we did center our activities at Elmer Scott. I was out there at great lengths. In fact, I was out there three or four times a week, three or four years ago. There did seem to be a semblance of some activity out there. There is no longer, in fact, I, myself, engaged Elmer Scott for different activities, dancing lessons, Indian powwows, and big Saturday night dances. I know of no organized effort. For example, to whom would one go, the city, the state or the Federal government? Church organizations are the only ones who have made any effort, as far as I know.

MR. NAHWOOKSY: I was thinking of the city parks and recreation board, if they had one here.

MRS. HAIL: I have rented, for example, Walnut Hill recreation center for big Indian dances. That has been most satisfactory.

MR. NAHWOOKSY: What does the rental run on these, approximately?

MRS. HAIL: Well, I personally have paid $35 an evening for a recreation center to hold one of the big Indian dances. They don't allow you to charge admission or anything. Sometimes a collection is taken up, which is used for assisting some of the families who travel. Everyone had to get together ahead of time and donate this money, or some individual had to pay it. You don't charge admission or anything, it is not allowed. In other words, it's a little difficult to have these affairs unless you, yourself, can sponsor or find a sponsor.[13]

One Dallas Indian lady reported an unsuccessful attempt to start a center using rented facilities:

> I rented a building one time, paid a month's rent for us to get some nickelodeons put in there, and set up everything to go in there. I wasn't even going to charge a fee, what came out of the machines would have paid the rent for each month for the kids to have a place to go, instead of to those beer joints...When I opened -- rented that building in 1958, it was in Oak Cliff. There was no transportation -- the buses didn't run close enough. The kids had to walk, and it was hard to find. I couldn't get a building downtown. Harvey Webb used to work for the BIA office in Dallas, Texas. He, big Ed, and I went and looked for

> three months to find a building. We finally found one. Mr. Webb said, "Louise, I've found the building downtown." So I went downtown and looked at it. We could rent the building. Did you know they wouldn't rent it, because the Indians were going to be there, and they were afraid we were going to have drunks.[14]

The Source of Funds

Statements of plans and hopes for Indian centers sometimes contained references to hoped-for funding sources. Most often, it was expected that government funds would have to be provided, and there were indications that the funding of urban Indian centers should be regarded as a responsibility of established government agencies, such as the BIA.

An Indian man in Phoenix asserted:

> So the Indians in Phoenix really do need a center, funded by the government. I think it is about time that the Indians go together and organized and started pushing for something like this.
>
> The center would not only provide recreation and athletics, but it would provide education for adult classes, for all our different organizations. It would provide something for drama classes, all phases of social life.[15] [Emphasis added]

Another Phoenix witness affirmed the appropriateness of government funding:

> So you people come to town and ask us what we need and to discuss our problems. Well, this problem directly concerns me. I have had experience with it over the past twenty years. We do need, and nobody can deny this, at least a whole city block where we can have an Indian center, gymnasium, playgrounds, and playing field for all the Indians -- the urban Indians -- here in town. I don't know how we're going to get this, but if it is possible through legislation in Washington, it is all fine and good if they can give it to us. [Emphasis added][16]

And a third Phoenix Indian man suggested using BIA funds:

It seems to me that many of the Indian centers that I have seen around the country have been developed by Indian leadership, persons who are concerned about Indian people and who have moved into the city. It provides an opportunity for Indian people who have some profession to give of themselves, to give of their expertise and helping, and to open doors for other Indian people moving into the city.

While many other minority groups have what you call a middle class, I suppose in a sense there are middle class Indian people, but I would hope that everyone would think themselves as persons who can open doors for others, and that we would be concerned about our own people -- whether or not they are of the same tribal background or not -- that we can open doors of opportunity to others.

So it seems to me that Indian center provide opportunities for Indian persons who have professional backgrounds to help in a creative way...It seems to me that if there were some way of creating contracts by the Federal government, probably through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to contract to Indian centers programs of orientation for people moving into the city, this would give a financial base to the centers which they do not always enjoy. Many times they have to scrounge and fight and try to promote through community centers, Red Feather organizations or United Fund programs. Again it would be funding an Indian project, because most of the Indian centers are run by Indian people on the center boards.

I can see the centers then developing orientation programs for persons moving into the city, developing recreational opportunity, Head Starts, vocation classes and consumer purchasing, such as to how to purchase on time payments, and all of this, in the city.

Then working with the whole problem of identity crisis of youth. Many of the youth of Indian heritage who have moved into the city, have bemoaned the fact that somehow they have been estranged from their culture. They have been uprooted from their past, so to speak, and they are the second generation persons living in the city.

This is the kind of a cultural identity crisis in that they know they are Indians by virtue of blood quantum, but somehow they have not grown up as an Indian person might on a reservation or near a reservation. And as they get together with other young Indian people, they yearn for some roots.

> It seems to me that one of the ways that it could be done is along with Indian centers or in cooperation with city governments where there is a large Indian population. Cultural centers could be set up which would develop drama groups, music, art and crafts. This would not only give expression to the creative ability of the Indian students, but it would act as a go-between to develop understanding among the non-Indians for the Indian culture. - [Emphasis added][17]

The legitimacy of BIA funding for the urban Indian center was affirmed in Los Angeles, also:

> The Bureau of Indian Affairs has spent millions of dollars in the last two years on "relocating" Indians and yet has totally ignored social and recreational programs. As a result of this a large percentage of Indians have returned to their reservations homesick and disillusioned. The Los Angeles Indian Center and the American Indian Athletic Association have done what they could with no funds. Social and recreational programs are obligations that the Bureau of Indian Affairs incurs when they bring Indians to Los Angeles.
>
> We think that a social and recreation contract should be awarded to the Indian Center by the Bureau. This should be looked on by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as an obligation rather than a favor, if we are good little Indians.[18]

An Indian woman, testifying in Los Angeles, urged the NCIO to help with the funding task:

> Also a recreation center or a cultural center. Again, if this is funded, we think, perhaps the National Council should help it be funded, it has to be run by Indians somehow. It should not be administered by the BIA or any other white agency.[19]

Also in Los Angeles, a non-Indian health professional saw the possibility of diverting BIA funds to support an Indian center:

> A long-term goal of the San Antonio Health District is the establishment of an American Indian Health and Welfare Center which would be devoted to meeting the medical, social and economic needs of the Indians living in Los Angeles County. The center could also be a means of perpetuating their culture as expressed by traditional dances, powwows, festivals, arts and crafts, and games.

Within the center there should be a medical treatment clinic which could study and become aware of the actual care of the sick as practiced in the American Indians' homes with resultant consideration of this care included in the treatment advised for the patient. Also included in the center would be the services routinely offered by the Los Angeles County Health Department, the Department of Public Social Services, the California State Employment Service, etc. There should be recreation rooms, an athletic field, and rooms for classes, such as short-term training classes in restaurant management and labor. The classes could offer concurrent experience in a restaurant within the center (which could be a source of possible income to the center) or work experience in local restaurants. There could be a shop in which their arts and crafts could be displayed and sold. The skill of producing these objects could be taught by the older tribe members to their youth, thus handing down tribal skills.

> Funds which the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been paying to private training schools, such as the Auto Mechanics Institute Trade School in Los Angeles, could be channeled to the adult training school within the center. This action would help to alleviate some of the resentment held by the American Indians against the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At the same time, many Indians could learn a new trade and become financially self-sufficient. As they adjust to urban life, the need for welfare assistance will decrease. The center would also become meaningful and a source of pride to the Indians. And it is this pride in being an Indian and pride in the Amerian Indian cultural heritage that must be reinstilled and reinforced in the American Indian children and young adults. [Emphasis added][20]

Finally, a participant in the San Francisco hearings thought the Indian Center should focus upon learning and should be government-funded:

> But the Indian cannot go into any particular point in the urban area and find out. He cannot have a place of his own and find out any question that he needs to know...So this plan that I have is something that has to be centered; that has to function from an Indian center, but a properly staffed Indian center; it has to be a learning center.
>
> And it has to be staffed with people -- I don't care if they have degrees or they don't, but people who have good personalities for working with Indians, they have to be curious people, and they also have to have an understanding of the communities that we live in.

The reason that the Indian guides of the past were so good, is because they knew their terrain. The Indian people in the city today do not know the terrain of the city. And this is something we have to learn.

Now, there are a lot of programs, a lot of advantages that would be made available to Indian people in the future if we know how to go after them, and we also have to have the vehicles for doing that.

From my limited observation from Indian centers and Indian groups, you have people in there who really don't know how to take advantage of a good offer when it comes by, you see, so we've got to have people in there who know how to do it and go out for it, you know.

They've got to know how to organize the Indians behind so that they can be in a position to accept the things that are available.

We have to take into account our past, and not lose it or give it up, the idea of it. We have a chance to prove ourselves to be excellent people in the city, and we can do it ourselves.

But we're like all poor people; we don't have the means. The BIA has 330 million dollars to do things with, and no ideas. There are some few privately sponsored groups here, you know, that sometimes can put up a little center here and there.

But these are new needs, and we should ask the government to provide us with enough money to experiment properly in this way for the benefit of the American Indians. [Emphases added][21]

The Bar as an Indian Center

Some Indians who appeared before the Committee wanted the urban Indian center to be a positive alternative to the bar as a social gathering-place. There were a number of Dallas Indian witnesses (where no center was reported) who thought the center was needed to alleviate social distress and to replace the "bar culture."

> Just might as well face it, the Indians have no place to go, only to the bars. Let's get a building, let's get something. I'll help, I'll do anything I can. I'll supervise it.[22]

* * *

As far as the others have mentioned about going to the bars for recreation, a place of social gathering, we have the problem there [In Fort Worth] also.[23]

* * *

The arrest record of the Indian on Peake and Bryan, Fitzhugh and Bryan, is a disgrace to Dallas, Texas. They have nowhere to go, no building.[24]

* * *

First off, I want to talk about that recreation center. It's been brought up before, but the Indians in this area need a permanent place to gather, like Saturdays and Sundays, Friday evenings. They don't know where to go. We don't have a place to gather. Maybe we want to whoop and holler, you know, dance around. When they don't have that, see, they go to the first local bar they see and pass the time there. From there on they start drinking, you know, whatever you call that, alcohol.[25]

* * *

I would like to recommend to the group that we do have a multi-service family-service and social center for the Dallas-Fort Worth area in those cities. These tend to create an atmosphere of togetherness that we're missing as Indians and I can cite a specific example to some of you Indians here in town that you would be ashamed of...If you want to see the Indian, go up on Haskell, Bryan, and Peake Streets on Friday and Saturday night. Now, this same group, it's mine and other's opinions who have dealt with these people, that they could benefit far more and are ready for group activities if we had a place like this, rather than living and hanging out at these beer joints at the three or four places that I named. This is just one specific that I'll throw out at this time. I certainly feel there is a need for this multi- social and family center where Indians, whether urban or relocated, have a place to go and have somebody that can understand him.[26]

This perception of the need for an Indian center was voiced in Los Angeles also:

> Another complaint that I have often heard is, the newcomer Indians to the city, particularly the young group, have no place for recreation. They have no place to gather. Consequently a percentage of them gather at some of the bars on Main Street, or on Pico Street. I like to think this is a small percentage, and yet this is the few Indians the general public sees. They drive down Pico, down Main Street, and you talk to anybody, and they say, "Oh, yes, that's where all the drunk Indians hang out, isn't it?"[27]

The Indian Center Mission - Social Services

As the previous excerpts from testimony indicate, several functions or missions for the Indian center were advocated by Committee witnesses. Some persons saw the Center as a locus for social services.

In Dallas, an Indian man said:

> And I was wondering if all these sources and smoke signals we're sending could be accumulated in one center, as some of these people have been mentioning? I've talked to various groups and churches who have made this proposal, that we have an Indian center. Not only as a social center but where I could talk to the police lieutenant, and the police could be of help where they could inform the American Indian of the city laws. I talked to Manpower, they're there, they're willing to halp, but they need the connections. There are other organizations willing to help, but it seems we are all sending smoke signals and we have our own little boat.[28]

This view was elaborated in San Francisco, where one witness specified the kinds of agency representation which should exist in an Indian center:

> My second major program suggestion is concept of an Indian service center. The service center idea is that under one roof (or one door) there would be a variety of service agency representations, in order to make more available the services needed to properly assist the individual. Such agencies might include the following:
>
> 1. Federal agency representatives:
>   a. BIA
>   b. Federal Social Security Administration
>   c. U.S. Employment Service
> 2. State agency representation (public and private)
>   a. California Department of Employment
>   b. California Department of Rehabilitation
>   c. California Indian Legal Services
>   d. State Department of Social Welfare
> 3. Local Agencies (public and private)
>   a. County health department
>   b. County welfare department
>   c. County probation department
>   d. Indian Welcome House
>   e. American Friends Service Commission
>   f. WIN representative
>
> The local agencies' representatives should include all Indian cultural and social agencies.[29]

Also, there were Indians in Phoenix who wanted the center to be a source of aid:

> I have also suggested in this proposal that we get some sort of center or at least some sort of facility out of which these programs could be implemented and developed, and where the Indian people could go and receive services, or at least be referred properly and followed up properly to insure that our young people in fact do receive the benefits of programs that are available in this city.[30]
>
> * * *
>
> Like we say, we need the Indian center that we can use. This is where an Indian can come and be welcome. From there we can give him a direction, give him help, give him something that he can lean on so that he can contribute also to society in Phoenix here.[31]
>
> * * *
>
> But over the years I really have come to believe that we need a thing like an Indian center. We need a kind of program and a facility to help out people that are coming from the reservation to help bridge the gap between the life styles they knew on the reservation and the life styles they find in town, whether it be people that need employment or whether they may be involved in an AA program.[32]

An interesting exchange in Dallas, involving an OEO representative, suggested some reluctance on the part of government officials to consider funding exclusively Indian social service centers as opposed to centers intended to serve all poor persons:

> MR. EFFMAN: ...What would stop this group of Indians from writing a proposal and submitting it to the Dallas area and stating they would like to have an Indian referral agency, which would be appointed by the OEO office?
>
> MR. CARMOUCHE: Indian referral agencies? Well, how would an Indian referral agency be any different from the referral processes that we are using now? This is what I don't understand.
>
> MR. EFFMAN: Well, number one, we heard testimony that Indians would not open a door for people making house to house calls and so forth. Now say, for instance, we had an Indian association whereby it would be a Dallas Indian association and let it be known as the referral agency, for counseling, the whole bit, you know, and let it be specifically for Indians. I was wondering if this could be a possibility.

MR. CARMOUCHE: If we could get a program like that, fine. However, I believe the existing projects we have as far as our referral systems within each individual agency, in each multi-purpose center, we have something called an intake and referral section. Number one, you know, just like your TEC, when you go for a job, you're initially interviewed, the person comes into the center, and let them try to determine what their needs are.

CHAIR: Let me interrupt you. I think maybe this might be helpful. Apparently the referral centers you have established are not meeting the need or have not been utilized because the Indian doesn't know how to use your referral centers. This is another problem that has to be looked into. This is why, you know, in the Indian referral center itself, he can become accustomed to using your referral and other agencies. He's not agency-oriented to a large scale.[33]

The Indian Center Mission - Information and Communication

Others who spoke to the NCIO Committee thought the Center should fulfill an information and communication need. One such person, appearing in Dallas, stated the need in these terms:

> Occasionally I hear so-and-so is having a meeting and I ask, "What are they going to do at this meeting?" "They're going to have a pow-wow." I'd like to see a powwow. I don't know how to do anything like that, but I like it. As sure as I make plans to go over there, somebody's going to call and I've got to leave. I don't ever get to attend things like that. I have heard in a round-about way, there's baseball teams and different things going on. We have contact with a lot of teenagers in our group that would be interested in anything like this. We don't know anything about them. Like he says, there are no phone calls, nobody to contact, so we can't go and tell our young people, "If you go and see so-and-so, he might arrange for you to play on his ball team or get you interested in some sport or something like that." We don't have that contact. If we had a place and something to go out, say, well, there's a bulletin board available somewhere, then we could.[34]

An Indian man in Dallas thought information provision was the number one priority:

> Now, what I would like to see the people start a recreation center or what we might say, an Indian center, a place where Indians who come in from other states, reservations, can get information. This information can be a lot of things. It can be of relatives, housing, employment, and naturally recreation for their families, if he has a family. If he's here alone, he may have a relative or a brother or a sister. He still doesn't know how to get around the city, and this is where he can get this information. I believe that would be the number one project...
>
> As far as communication goes, I still think this Indian center would contribute a lot. Communication and information, just about anything you want, you could go to this place and get it.[35]

And, finally, an Indian woman thought the center should provide information to individual Indians about their heritage and other matters as well as providing information about Indians to non-Indians:

> An Indian center is important, mostly as a matter of dispensing information because we really don't know anything that is available It's extremely difficult to get information from a government bureau, even if you're used to getting information, which I am. For example, I wrote to the Indian Bureau in Muskogee and gave them roll numbers and names of both my mother and myself and asked if they would trace my lineage back as far as they had records. They wrote back and said that that was just my mother's roll number and they could give me nothing. They said, if I would fill out a form, they'd help me. I filled out a form,listing mother's roll number -- all of her sisters and brothers, their roll numbers and their father's roll number, and as far back as I knew. Where we were born, and all of the details. Three months later they wrote back and said, "Yes, the information you have given us is correct." Now, I don't want to maintain this wasn't a help -- it was. If they had said, "No, we have no record of you," that would have been a problem. In other words, the end result of my three months of nagging was, that they did agree my information was correct. I do feel we should be able to get information about ourselves. I will say this for the government: they have never given out any confidential information about us that they should not have. That is not to be sniffed at, because one doesn't want everyone knowing your business. I feel we, ourselves, should be entitled to any information about our ancestors. I have had someone from one of the Federal bureau maintain to me that I had no legal status whatsoever as an Indian because he didn't find me in Star's

History of the Cherokees. There are other Cherokees besides the Cherokees listed in Star. I was completely unable to prove the whole thing. I feel education has been touched on, and there's no question this is a need. Communication, I feel there must be some way of getting information around to people, of what is available. It is practically impossible to get this information unless you know exactly what it is you want to know. If you already know what it is you want to know, then it is of no help.

The idea of having a center seems a perfectly marvelous idea. There one could socialize without being on an office-and-hurry-up basis. You could find out details of what is available, and what is going on. I mean an Indian center is Indian-oriented, not white-oriented, there is a difference, to coin a phrase, I'd say where the Indian is king. In other words where one does things the Indian way, not according to regular bureaucratic ways. I'm in a position where I meet, for example, hundreds of Campfire Girls in Dallas, civic organizations, and church women who are not Indians. I dispense information at great length. It isn't that I know so much, it's that I spread it, a great many places. I find these people are most eager to learn things about Indians. They want to go around where Indian people are. If there are Indian people who need assistance in any way, such as taking them to hospitals, helping them get information, these women want to help. They have the time and the cars. They have no transportation problem. They ask me," What can I do, either for my benefit or for the Indians' benefit?" I can give them no answer whatsoever. I can't even say, "Go to a certain place and you can meet them." They have asked me where the meetings of the Inter-Tribal Association and Indian American are. Unfortunately, to dispense this information, I would have to send out a mailing to about 4,000 people to get this information to them. Once a month or whenever they meet, I would have to send out information to all of them. Well, off-hand you can see as an individual, I could not possibly do this. Neither could they call me and find out when these societies meet all the time. I cannot even get that information out, at all times to people. They are interested in some place, where they can sit down and have coffee, or talk about their different cultures together. We need somewhere these people can get together, some structured organized situation, where I can simply send women and elementary school children.[36]

The Indian Center Mission - Indian "Culture"

Some Indians who spoke about the need for a center wanted an Indian "cultural center." Although it was not always clear what was meant by "cultural center," the reference seemed to be to a place where especially Indian activities and Indian organizations could be housed.

Two Minneapolis Indian men commented:

> ...this might lead us into an Indian cultural center, or possibly a home where they may be able to stay until they are relocated, and find a home for themselves.[37]
>
> * * *
>
> One thing we are very interested in in the city is a culture center. We hope within the next year or so to develop an Indian culture center which will house the organizations, if we can work out our differences of opinions. We would like to get this going. Where the funds will come from remains to be seen, but there seems to be a feeling that we can do this.[38]

During the Los Angeles hearings, an Indian man described his frustration with attempts to develop a cultural center and noted his hopes for its usage:

> ...I know some of the Indian are coming into town today. They run into this big city of ours, and they get lost. One reason is because they have no place to go. When they are going to school, they are occupied. When they are working, they are occupied. But when it is time to go home, they have no place to go to.
>
> I'm a great believer in trying to promote an Indian center, whether it be in Los Angeles, Long Beach, or any other metropolitan town in this big country of ours. It just doesn't seem possible that it is going to be done in my day and time. I'm standing here to tell you, I've tried every avenue from the president on down, to get help get a piece of land. That is all I am asking for, is a piece of land, ten or fifteen acres. I will get the rest of the money to build a cultural center.
>
> I've told them that, but for some reason or other there are laws that prohibit us from being granted a piece of land. And I don't understand it, believe me. I think anything can

be done, because I have seen it done in other races. why can't we Indians get something we so fully deserve. All we are asking for is just a little piece of land in this area, where we could build a cultural center, which would encompass a gymnasium, an auditorium, an arcade where we could display our talents, and big ground where we could have powwows galore, two or three going at the same time, a rodeo going over here...

This is the way I look at it, but I can't get anybody to listen to me. Believe me, it burns me up...All I get is a pat on the back, "We appreciate what you are doing, Hank," but I see no land, I see no money.

It gets tiresome, but you know something, I haven't given up. I'll die, I'll go down with my boots setting up still fighting, because I may not enjoy it but some young Indian coming into town may reap what we have started. I do have a dream that someday we are going to have a big beautiful Indian cultural center in this southland area, which we so badly need.[39]

The Indian Center Mission - Social Activities

Still other witnesses stressed the need for an Indian center to serve as a place for meetings, recreation, and ordinary social life. The emphasis here was upon a site for Indian companionship and togetherness.

In Los Angeles, a Committee staff member queried an Indian man:

DR. CARMACK: Do you think the fundamental need is for some sort of organized or planned recreational opportunity, as far as leisure time program?

MR. NARKO: Definitely. A community center, just a place they can meet, and go and sit if they like. There's nothing available on the publicized scale. They get it by word of mouth, and here and there. None of these organizations are really large. They have limited facilities, and are not capable of handling something like this. So it is really important, you know.[40]

Chairman Harris commented upon the Indian Center's value in a social sense, first in Minneapolis, then in Los Angeles:

I would like to comment on your concept of the center. I might add, within five years, I did a complete turn-around from my own idea of the value of an Indian center. I had a basic philosophy against Indian centers, thinking they promoted paternalism. After visiting around the United States with people in urban settings, I have come to the realization that they are an important part in the development of the Indian person in an urban setting. All the segments and all these organizations play a very important role and the Indians in the Twin Cities are to be commended on their efforts.[41]

* * *

I think you are emphasizing a problem which I wasn't very sympathetic with originally. That is the Indian Center. Several years ago I did not see the real value. I know Mr. Nahwooksy and I used to have some real arguments on the value of Indian centers.

After visiting the large metropolitan centers, and being in Washington, I certainly see the encouragement it offers for other Indian people and the great value of learning about different tribes. We are so tribal-oriented to our own tribe, we lose sight of the accomplishments of other tribes. I think there is great value in backing up one's own personality and going forward.

I think there is a great problem of recreation, not so much for recreation but social togetherness. All other groups of people have organizations. I think are greatly needed and you have made an excellent point here. Hopefully we can make a recommendation on a national scale about having some sort of center. I don't know exactly what we need, but we will figure out what it is and make the appropriate recommendation based on your testimony.[42]

A Dallas Indian wanted the same thing:

But the main thing, I think the Indian people need a place to gather because they like to be amongst themselves. Sometimes they don't -- I mean not necessarily segregate them, but, you know, they like to call the place -- let's see, recreation center, I guess, is what I'm trying to say. I belong to the Dallas Inter-Tribal and we subsidize our own place like what Frank Watson said. We can't always afford it, but a lot of these fellas like to dance around, they don't make that kind of money, that got kids to support. If we could find a permanent place that's reasonable -- we don't want something for nothing, either, you know, something we can afford that is

> permanent where we can go there all of the time. Instead of, say, fifteen miles from here next week and ten miles from here the following week, you know, together, because they're about the only reasonable places we can find. Around here they're high.[43]

The Indian Center - Other Needs and Requirements

There were other needs and expectations for the Indian center which appeared during the hearings. A Dallas Indian mother was concerned about Indian young people:

> Starting with recreation, I feel we need a place of recreation for the Indians. I know a lot of them talk about powwows, but everybody has young children. I have four teenagers. They're active and they need a place where they can go and enjoy themselves. I know at Anadarko, it's just a small place, but there is a Christian center and you can go and spend a whole evening there. In fact, they have a room for studying if the children want to go, swap notes, or help one another, they do that.[44]

That woman was seconded by another Dallas Indian woman, when she said:

> There are groups who have organized us, and the juvenile officer just now stated the fact that we need recreational facilities for Indians to go to meet other Indians. He also stated that there are so many of them who go to these places where we hope that our children do not go, when they are sent to another town. We feel like if we had a place where we could go now, the Indians are having a basketball game over here or the Indians are having a combo, or they're going to dance or to have a film. I agree with the juvenile officer, we do need some place for them to go. So many of them are young when they come here from Haskell and other places. They're just out of their teens and want to go where there are other Indians. They may not drink, but they're where all this other is going on, and I feel like if we had a place for them.[45]

Several witnesses thought the Center should be Indian-operated. In Dallas, one witness argued for Indian staffing and control with Federal funding:

> ...Here's a suggestion that I would like to make on an Indian center: because of the increasing contact of Indian people with urban communities, it is important to encourage the development of urban Indian centers where these are needed. Because of the cultural difference in the Indian in the non-Indian society, these urban centers can function best if their operation is the responsibility of the Indian people themselves. It would be a great asset to see these centers as places where things are done to Indians and for Indians for their own good. So much of past Indian affairs has been carried out, in the same way. Local reservations and other Indian communities need to retain their responsibility. The urban Indian center organization should be in the hands of Indian people whom it presumes to serve. Because of extreme difficulty in raising the necessary funds for each center, and because the reservation to city movement is a definite part of the general American scene, the urban centers should receive adequate subsidy from the Federal government. The Indian center should qualify for grants by meeting the separate standards of the program as set out by their local urban community, and the Federal government should not extend its influence and control into such agencies.[46]

That sentiment was repeated in Los Angeles:

> We need an Indian center governed and staffed by Indian people, with the assistance of the community when available. We at the Indian center are more than willing to upgrade our Indian center. We also point with pride to what we have been able to accomplish without the necessary funds. How much better we can do would become evident with the new programs.[47]

And a Minneapolis Indian militant also urged Indian staffing and control of the Indian center, but made it clear that educated or "establishment" Indians were not what he had in mind:

> This was brought up last night at the special Model Cities meeting we had with Mr. Mike Roan. We stated that we wanted to design our own multi-purpose Indian center. Indian people are capable of doing this. We have demonstrated in the past nine months that we are capable of taking care of our own problems, and staffing an Indian center with Indian people. We are capable of handling employment and working with housing conditions in the city of Minneapolis, and directly with the education system. It always ends up, whenever they pick an Indian, they figure he has to have a degree. When they put in an Indian from our organization or some other organization that wants to make a change, it always turns out to be one Indian fighting fourteen or fifteen that think the way the Establishment does.[48]

A Dallas Indian man thought the center might serve another purpose: it could make it possible for Indians to trade with other Indians.

> We need a recreation area to get together and these Indians going to school for mechanics, upholsterers and different things, can put their names up and we will go to them rather than to a white person. Sometimes some of these Indians will go to a white person, and when they walk in and begin to speak, they'll know how much education this person has and they'll charge him a lot more. If he goes to another Indian, he'll get a better thing. By having a place to gather for these Indians, it would help us and help other Indians coming off the reservation.

Some Final Observations

1. Existing Indian Centers in the cities visited by the NCIO were marginally funded operations which, according to the testimony of Indian people, fulfilled important functions nevertheless. These functions included intake and referral, housing assistance, recreation and sports for children and youth, legal aid, employment assistance, provision of a social gathering place, provision of a mailing address for those without a permanent residence, and provision of a site for the preservation of Indian values. Only in Dallas did the hearings not reveal an extant Indian center.

2. Dallas Indians reported to the Committee little satisfaction with rented facilities for Indian community activities, and the desire for an exclusively Indian center was apparent. One person related an attempt to rent a building which she said was prevented because of discrimination.

3. In general, Indian witnesses thought that the funds for an Indian center should come from government agencies, rather than private sources. It was suggested that the Center could become a party to government contracts, to provide services to relocated Indians.

4. Some witnesses thought that bars now serve some of the functions of the Indian Center, and they urged the establishment of Indian centers on the grounds that undesirable influences such as alcohol and bad company would thus be eliminated.

5. Some witnesses thought the central mission of the Indian Center should be the provision of social services. These persons envisioned the Center as a place where Indian people could go for resources and assistance with city life. Other Indians who spoke to the Committee stressed the importance of the Center as a locus for information and communication. Besides information about "what is available" for Indian people from various agencies, it was suggested that the Center could inform Indians about their tribal rights, could inform non-Indians about Indians, and could inform Indians about Indian activities in the city and elsewhere. Some Indians thought the Center should be "cultural" in nature, stressing contemporary Indian organizations and their activities. Other Indians saw the Center primarily as a place for social activity and meetings among Indian people, central to the development of an Indian style and personality in the city. Some witnesses were concerned that the Center should pay special attention to the needs of Indian young people, and should be Indian controlled and operated.

6. It is clear that quite positive feelings and aspirations about the functions of an urban Indian center were common, at least among the Indian people who appeared before the NCIO Committee in five cities. The establishment of a Center to provide social agency services to Indians under Indian control and using Indian personnel may be regarded as a social experiment worthy of careful evaluation to see if the delivery of services does, in fact, improve in terms of time and quality dimensions and in terms of the satisfaction of Indian clients. It may be that the Indian Center is desired because it constitutes a site for the re-establishment of the reservation Indian culture within the city. If that is indeed what happens, then evaluation of the Center must consider the ways in which that is an adaptive plus (eg., the affirmation of positive community ties) as well as the ways in which it is a minus (e.g., the transplantation of rural-poverty-based political styles unlikely to succeed in a multi-ethnic and more complex setting). The recent Federal funding of Indian centers in Los Angeles, Gallup (New Mexico), Fairbanks (Alaska), and Minneapolis provides an opportunity to test the viability of Indian community control and management in the city. It fixes Indian self-determination where urban Indian spokesmen have called for

it and, equally important, it fixes the responsibility for Indian programs squarely upon Indian shoulders. Finally, this recent move could be regarded as an outgrowth of attempts to assess the desires of urban Indians (as through the NCIO urban hearings) and to bend Federal agencies to meet these needs.

FOOTNOTES*

[1]Dallas, p. 100, David Benham.

[2]San Francisco, pp. 4, 6, Earl R. Livermore.

[3]San Francisco, pp. 7-8, Earl R. Livermore.

[4]San Francisco, pp. 11-12, Earl R. Livermore.

[5]Phoenix, pp. 134-135, Kent Ware.

[6]Minneapolis, pp. 139-143, Larry Martin.

[7]Minneapolis, pp. 178-179, Emily Peake.

[8]Minneapolis, p. 204, Harold Goodsky.

[9]Los Angeles, p. 146, Sam Kolb.

[10]Dallas, p. 9, Reeves Nahwooksy, Richard Lester, La Donna Harris.

[11]Dallas, p. 129, Vernon Tehuano.

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*The basic documents for this report are:

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Los Angeles, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," December 16-17, 1968. Mimeograph. 311 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Dallas, Texas of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," February 13-14, 1969. Mimeograph. 213 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," March 18-19, 1969. Mimeograph. 209 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in San Francisco, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," April 11-12, 1969. Mimeograph. 249 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Phoenix, Arizona of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," April 17-18, 1969. Mimeograph. 145 pp.

(Above documents published by the U.S. Government Printing Office)

In the above footnoting, these volume references are abbreviated.

[12]Dallas, pp. 63-64, Frank Watson.

[13]Dallas, p. 44, Reeves Nahwooksy, Raven Hail.

[14]Dallas, pp. 56-57, Mrs. John Archuleta.

[15]Phoenix, p. 75, Peter Homer.

[16]Phoenix, p. 66, Julian B. Dinehdeol.

[17]Phoenix, pp. 30-31, Cecil Corbett.

[18]Los Angeles, pp. 152-153, Joe Vasquez.

[19]Los Angeles, p. 211, Sunne Wright.

[20]Los Angeles, pp. 307-308, Prepared Statement of Claire McWilliams.

[21]San Francisco, pp. 139-141, Unidentified Member of the Audience.

[22]Dallas, p. 59, Mrs. John Archuleta.

[23]Dallas, p. 102, David Benham.

[24]Dallas, p. 56, Mrs. John Archuleta.

[25]Dallas, p. 90, Joe Tafoya.

[26]Dallas, p. 32, Dan J. Willis.

[27]Los Angeles, p. 102, Tim Wapato.

[28]Dallas, p. 50, Herbert Brown Otter.

[29]San Francisco, pp. 84-85, Bert Walters.

[30]Phoenix, p. 93, Lee Cook.

[31]Phoenix, p. 120, Jerry Sloan.

[32]Phoenix, p. 95, Lee Cook.

[33]Dallas, p. 192, George Effman, Joe Carmouche, La Donna Harris.

[34]Dallas, p. 70, Bernice Johnson.

[35]Dallas, pp. 62, 66, Frank Watson.

[36]Dallas, pp. 42-43, Raven Hail.

[37]Minneapolis, p. 74, Gene Eckstein.

[38]Minneapolis, p. 48, Charles Buckanaga.

[39]Los Angeles, p. 99, Henry Roberts.

[40]Los Angeles, p. 254, William Carmack, Chuck Narko.

[41]Minneapolis, p. 144, La Donna Harris.

[42]Los Angeles, pp. 100-101, La Donna Harris.

[43]Dallas, p. 94, Joe Tafoya.

[44]Dallas, p. 136, Wanda Kostzuta.

[45]Dallas, p. 38, Juanita Ahtone.

[46]Dallas, p. 6, Richard Lester.

[47]Los Angeles, p. 154, Joe Vasquez.

[48]Minneapolis, p. 173, Clyde Bellecourt.

[49]Dallas, p. 53, Levi Edwards.